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INTELLIGIBILITY AMONG ARABIC DIALECTS

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INTELLIGIBILITY AMONG ARABIC DIALECTS:

A SAMPLE OF CULTURED SPOKEN ARABIC

CONTENTS



I. INTRODUCTORY

Many linguists in the non-Arab world yield to the fallacy that Arabic dialects are as widely divergent as, say, the Romance languages of today which stem from one parent-stock, i.e. Latin. Professor T. F. Mitchell, an eminent British linguist and a versatile authority on Egyptian Colloquial Arabic and Cyrenaican Arabic, writes in his introduction to 'Colloquial Arabic' :

> " As a result of the normal processes of linguistic development, the colloquial Arabic which lives in the several Arab societies today and by which they mostly live, differs as widely between Arab countries as do those languages which nowadays go under the different names of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. " [1]

He then claims that, for the purpose of communication, the Arabs resort to the written language as a sort of 'control' as much as the speakers of 'otherwise mutually unintelligible varieties of German' [2] resort to 'Schriftdeutsch' in the major part of Germany and Austria, in

1) Mitchell, T. F., *Colloquial Arabic, the Living Language of Egypt*, Teach Yourself Books, London, 1962, p. 10.

2) Ibid., p. 10.

a great part of Switzerland, and in small portions of other European countries.[1] The analogy is by no means valid. The Arabic dialects are, unlike the German 'dialects', mutually intelligible to each other, and these Arabic dialects have never developed, like Latin, into separate languages for religious as well as for political reasons. Arabic was the language of Islam and the medium in which Islamic government has conducted its affairs over hundreds of years. Besides, 'literary language' is not the only medium of communication among the Arabs when they meet in informal situations like social gatherings or friendly talks. On the contrary, there is much evidence to prove that divergencies among the Arabic colloquial dialects are less considerable than divergencies between written Arabic, on the one hand, and the colloquials, on the other. However, the spread of education, the increase in intercommunication among the Arabs, the progress of mass media, the cultural treaties, the efforts of Arabic language academies, and the present rapprochement between the Arab states on the political, military, economic and cultural levels as a result of the 6th of October war will enhance the opportunities for the increase of mutual intelligibility among the Arabs and remove gradually a large proportion of their dialectal differences.

The opportunity to validate the statement that the

1) See Gleason, H. A., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, Revised Edition, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1955, pp. 425-26.

spoken Arabic varieties are mutually intelligible was offered when I was delegated to teach linguistics at Beirut Arab University in Lebanon. This university is attended by students from various Arab nationalities : Lebanese, Syrians, Jordanians, Palestinians, Kuwaitis, Bahrainis, Iraqis, Algerians and Egyptians. The question of lack of reciprocal intelligibility has not been raised among these students who conduct their daily affairs in their own national dialects. Thus, it occurred to me to investigate the common features that help towards this mutual understanding. But a study of this sort should not only be descriptive but also comparative, in order to indicate points of difference as well as points of similarity. Since the writer is an Egyptian and has participated in the texts recorded, the Egyptian educated spoken Arabic was assumed to be a 'norm' or a base for comparison with other Arabic educated spoken forms. This study is based on :

1. a three-hour recording of natural conversation between an Egyptian (Cairo), a Jordanian (Amman), a Palestinian (El-Khalil)[1], a Bahraini (Manama) and an Algerian (Algeria). They are all holders of B.A. from Arab universities. Their spoken Arabic is a fair representative of educated spoken Arabic (henceforth referred to as ESA) which is the subject of the present paper. Samples of this text and their English translation appear in Sections V and VI below.

1) El-Khalil is about 40 kilometres south of Jerusalem.

2. personal observations of Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian dialects over three years during my delegation to Beirut Arab University.

3. some of the literature that has been published on the dialects under consideration. A list of the references consulted is given at the end of this paper.

4. checking with native speakers of these dialects on points of doubt.

Naturally, conversation among cultured Arabic speakers will contain hosts of classical words and expressions. There is no attempt to eliminate these 'classicisms' from 'pure' local dialects since these classicisms have become part and parcel of the everyday spoken language. But we may notice that in interdialectal situations as the present one modifications in the direction of classical Arabic may occur on the part of a speaker in the sense that he may use classical or literary Arabic expressions instead of local ones for two reasons : first because educated speakers still believe that classical Arabic bears a higher cultural prestige than the local dialects, and secondly because the use of classical Arabic terms will help in narrowing the gap in non-reciprocal communication. Besides, there is always the tendency in this type of conversation to code-switch from the classical to the dialect and vice versa, sometimes even in the same sentence. The following two examples, which occur in the speech of the Egyptian interlocutor, illustrate this point :

1. tagid ʔinn[1]-ilʕa:ʔila:t[2] (classical)... miʃ biyla:ʔu sakan (colloquial)

   (Families (in Egypt) do not find accommodation.)

2. yiṭlaʕ fi-lḥaya:(h) yaxudlu ka:m gine:h (colloquial) wi yaʕi:ʃ kabaqiyyat-ilqaṭi:ʕ (classical)

   (He starts his life-career, charges a few pounds (per month) and then lives like the rest of the herd.)

Some features of adjustment may also occur on the part of one speaker in the sense that he may replace certain features of his native dialect with their equivalents in the dialect of another speaker in a given situation. On the phonological level, for example, we may observe the occasional use (in the text) by the Jordanian and the Algerian of the voiced velar plosive [g] instead of the voiced palato-alveolar fricative [j] in words like gamʕa (university) and magga:nan (free, gratis); or again the abundant use by the Egyptian participant of the voiceless uvular plosive [q] instead of the glottal plosive [ʔ] in words like qabl (before), qanu:n (law), qa:rin (compare), ʕa-lʔaqall (at least) by way of either classicizing or 'elevating' his speech. The same is true with his use of the voiceless dental fricative [θ] for the voiceless denti-alveolar sulcal fricative [s] in some words like ʔaθa:θ (furniture) and maθalan (for example). Such features of modi-

1) the classical form is ʔann.
2) A hyphen (—) marks elisions at word-junctions, but it does not necessarily mark the place at which the elided portion occurs in corresponding contexts of non-elision.

fication are not, in my opinion, 'stable' phenomena which can be objectively investigated, since they differ from one person to another and are apt to vary according to the situation in which they take place, especially under the circumstances of artificial recording in which the interlocutors are usually conscious of what they are doing. It is interesting to note in this respect that in the text the Jordanian comments on his use of [g] in place of [j] in the word gamʕa by saying to the Egyptian who was directing the conversation :

> "ʔinta-txalli:na - n ʔu:l ga:mʕa ... liʔannu ʔinta-lli ʕam btisʔal... law wa:ḥid ta:ni byisʔal ɣe:rak ma baʔul ga:mʕa..."
>
> (You are making me say [ga:mʕa]... because you are the one that is asking (me)... If somebody else was asking I wouldn't have said [ga:mʕa].)

Thus, from the present standpoint, investigation of points of similarity and difference in educated spoken Arabic varieties is more justifiable. This study, however, is not meant to be either extensive or comprehensive. It is an attempt in the direction of refuting or correcting the prevalent idea of lack of reciprocal intelligibility among these varieties.

II. THE PHONOLOGY OF ESA

The varieties of spoken Arabic described in this article have an inventory of phonemes which include 30 consonants and six vowels. Both consonants and vowels occur short and long [1]. Five consonants are emphatic or velarized, whereas the rest of the consonants are non-emphatic or 'plain'. The emphatic consonants are basically pronounced like their unemphatic counterparts except that in the articulation of the emphatics the tongue is laterally expanded and its back part is raised towards the soft palate. The non-emphatic consonants are :

ʔ	glottal plosive
b	voiced bilabial plosive
t	voiceless denti-alveolar plosive
θ	voiceless dental fricative
g	voiced velar plosive
j	voiced palato-alveolar fricative [2]
ḥ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
x	voiceless uvular fricative
d	voiced denti-alveolar plosive

1) In the transcription, length of consonants is indicated by doubling the consonant-symbol, and length of vowels is indicated by (:)

2) The pronunciation of j as a palato-alveolar *affricate* has not been noticed in the spoken dialects under consideration. Its occurrence in readings of classical Arabic is more observable.

ð voiced dental fricative
r voiced alveolar flap
z voiced denti-alveolar fricative
s voiceless denti-alveolar fricative
ʃ voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
ʕ voiced pharyngeal fricative
ɣ voiced uvular fricative
f voiceless labio-dental fricative
q voiceless uvular plosive
k voiceless velar plosive
l voiced denti-alveolar lateral
m voiced bilabial nasal
n voiced denti-alveolar nasal
h glottal fricative
w labio-velar semi-vowel
y voiced palatal semi-vowel

The emphatic consonants are :

ʂ, ɖ, ʈ, ʐ, Z which are the counterparts of the 'non-emphatic' s, d, t, ð, z respectively [1].

1) Instances of emphatic b, l, m, and r have been observed in the dialects under consideration, but since these have no independent status like the emphatic consonants above they have been excluded from the list of emphatics. For details on emphasis in Arabic, see, among others : 1. Ferguson, C., 'The Emphatic *l* in Arabic' in *Language* 32 (1956), pp. 446 - 452; 2. Harrell, R., *The Phonology of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic*, American Council of Learned Societies, New York, 1957 ; 3. Lehn, W., 'Emphasis in Cairo Arabic' in *Language* 39 (1963), pp. 29 - 39 ; 4. 'A Linguistic Analysis of Egyptian Radio Arabic' in Ferguson (ed.), *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs III, 1964, pp. 26 - 30.

The consonants p (voiceless bilabial plosive) and v (voiced labio-dental fricative) occur in these varieties of Arabic only in loan-words from foreign languages, e.g. the word ʔaspa:niyya (Spanish) occurs in the speech of the Algerian, words like no:vi (new), bulo:var (pull-over) occur in Egyptian Arabic, and a word like vitess (gear-lever) is commonly used in Lebanon. On this account, these two consonants are not included in the inventory of consonants above.

The Vowels :

The six vowels comprise three front and three back vowels. These are :

i	half-close to close front spread vowel, short and long.
e	mid to half-close front spread vowel, short and long.
a	front open vowel, short and long.
u	half-close back to central rounded vowel, close rounded when long or final.
o	mid to half-close back rounded vowel, short and long.
ɑ	back open vowel, short and long.

Although identical symbols are used for transcribing the spoken Arabic of educated Egyptians, Lebanese, Syrians, Palestinians, Jordanians, Bahrainis and Algerians, it is assumed that every phoneme consists of a set

of allophones which differ from one variety of Arabic to another, sometimes even from one speaker to another within the same variety. This is more noticeable in the vowels. For example, it has been observed that the quality of the front vowel (transcribed a) in Bahraini is 'backer', i.e. more drawn back than the front vowel in the other dialects. Its quality is intermediate between a and ɑ, e.g. in words like ʔissukka:n (the inhabitants), ʔilmawa:d (the subjects) and ʔiʃʃarika:t (the companies/firms). Again, the quality of the vowel e(:) in the feature of ʔima:la [1] in Lebanese Arabic varies with different speakers between e(:) and ɛ(:). This also applies, with a lesser degree, to Bahraini, Palestinian, Syrian and Jordanian Arabic, especially with final e(:). Examples from Lebanese Arabic are :

> sene (year), masʔale (problem), mawju:de (present), tle:te (three), ʃabe:b (young people), ʔaḥwe:l (conditions, circumstances), ḥawe:dis (accidents).

From Bahraini, Palestinian and Jordanian Arabic the following words occur in the text :

> muʃkile (question, problem), marḥɑle (stage), θa:nye (other, second), ʔilmudde (the period), ʔibtida:ʔiyye (primary), mawju:de (present), ʔakle (meal, dish).

The main points of difference among the dialects under consideration may be summarized as follows :

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1) This is the tendency of a, a: to become e, e: respectively.

1. [θ] (voiceless dental fricative) in the spoken forms of the Jordanian, the Palestinian, the Bahraini and the Algerian is replaced by [s] which alternates with [t] in their Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese counterparts, although the use of [θ] has been occasionally recorded for the Egyptian speaker usually when classicizing or 'elevating' his style. Examples are :

Jordanian, Palestinian, Bahraini and Algerian :

ʔaθa:θ (furniture), θalaθ (three), ʔiθθa:nawiyye (the secondary, (school)), kaθi:re (much), miθl (such, as, like, similar to), baḥθ (research), θamanya (eight), titʔaθθar (is affected/influenced), maθalan (for example).[1]

Egyptian :

sanawi, sanawiyya (secondary), masalan (for example), baḥs (research).

(The words ʔilʔaθa:θ (furniture) and maθalan (for example) have been recorded once in the text)

ʔaktar (more), ta:ni (second), talati:n (thirty), kuta:r (many).

Lebanese & Syrian :

sa:nawi, sa:nawiyya (secondary)

kti:r, kti:re, kta:r (much, many), ta:ni, ta:nye

1) There are only two instances of t alternating with θ in the speech of the Palestinian, i.e. kti:r (much) and tma:nye (eight). The use of θ may be due to his almost consistent habit of classicizing his style.

(second, other), ta:min (eighth), mitil (such, as, similar to), tla:te/tle:te (three).

2. [j] (voiced palato-alveolar fricative) in Jordanian, Palestinian, Bahraini, Algerian, Syrian and Lebanese Arabic is realized as [g] (voiced velar plosive) in Egyptian Arabic. The following examples have been attested :

Jordanian :

xa:rijiyya (foreign, outer), ʔittija:h (direction, trend), jilda (a book-cover), ja:yiz (possible), majlis (council).

Palestinian, Syrian & Lebanese :

ja:b (he brought), najaḥ (he succeeded), ja:ri (flowing), jamaع (he added), ja:y (coming), majalle (magazine), msajjal (registered), mtarjim (translator).

Bahraini :

birna:mij (programme), nati:ja (result), daraja:t (marks), tasji:l (registration, recording).

Algerian :

ʔajnabiyya (foreign), jaza:ʔiriyya (Algerian), mawju:d (present), mitxarraji:n (graduated (pl.)), ḥa:je (thing, something).

But it may be noticed that there are also occasional occurrences of [g] in loan-words in the above dialects, e.g.

ʔingili:z (English), ʔingiltra (England), grava:t (necktie), gara:j (garage), dego:l (De-Gaulle).

Egyptian :

ʔagnabi, ʔagnabiyya (foreign), yitxarrag (he graduates), gaww (weather), gidi:d (new), mara:giʕ (references), magalla (magazine), ḥa:ga (thing, something).

[j] also occurs in Egyptian Arabic in a few loan-words, e.g.
gara:j (garage), jakitta (jacket), bija:ma (pyjamas), ʔarjanti:n (Argentine), ji:b (skirt), jila:ti (ice-cream).

3. [ð] (voiced dental fricative, non-emphatic) used in Jordanian, Palestinian, Bahraini and Algerian is pronounced as [z] (voiced denti-alveolar fricative) in Egyptian and as [z] alternating with [d] in Lebanese and Syrian, e.g.

Jordanian, Palestinian, Bahraini and Algerian :

ha:ða (this (m.)), ha:ði (this (f.)), ða:lik (that), namu:ðajiyya (model, ideal, exemplary), ʔalaðð (more delicious), ʔaxaðu (they took/have taken), tilmi:ð (pupil, student).

Egyptian :

namu:zagiyya (model, ideal, exemplary), ʔalazz (more delicious), tilmi:z (pupil, student).

Lebanese & Syrian :

bitɛazzab (he is tortured), zakaru (they mentioned), bya:xud (he takes/ is taking), ha:da/hayda (this (m.)), ha:di (this (f.)).

(The word biya:xud may also be used in Egyptian Arabic)

4. [ẓ] (voiced dental fricative, emphatic) in Bahraini [1], Jordanian, Palestinian and Algerian is replaced by [Z] which alternates with [ḍ] in Egyptian, Lebanese and Syrian, e.g.

Bahraini, Jordanian, Palestinian and Algerian :

niẓa:m (system, order, discipline), muɛẓam (most of), muwaẓẓaf (official, civil servant), ḥifẓ (memorizing, learning by heart), munaẓẓama:t (organizations), biyẓall/biẓall (he stays/remains, he is staying/remaining).

Egyptian, Lebanese and Syrian :

niZa:m (system, order, discipline), muɛZam (most of), muwaZZaf (official, civil servant), Za:hir (clear, obvious), Za:biṭ/ḍa:bit (officer), maZbu:ṭ

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1) In less educated speech in Bahrain [ẓ] stands for both [ḍ] and [ẓ]. This applies also to the Kuwaiti, Qatari and the dialect of Dubai. For more details, see Johnstone, T. M., *Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies,* Oxford University Press, London, 1967, pp. 20 ff. In the text recorded [ḍ] also occurs, e.g. ʔayḍan (also, as well), xuḍrawa:t (vegetables).

(correct)[1], Zulm/Zulum (injustice), biḓall / biyḓall [2] (he stays / remains, he is staying / remaining), ḓuhr (noon)[3] ḥa:fiḓ (memorizing, learning by heart).[4]

5. [q] (voiceless uvular plosive) in the speech of the Jordanian, the Palestinian and the Algerian is realized as [q] alternating with [g] in that of the Bahraini and as [ʔ] in the speech of the Egyptian, the Lebanese and the Syrian, as follows :

Jordanian, Palestinian and Algerian :

manṭiqa (region, area), ʃarqiyya (eastern), byqaddim (he offers, he is offering), qisim (division, part), liqtiṣa:di (the economic), fi-lwaqt-ilḥa:ḓir (at present, at the present time), ṭabaqa (class), ʔittafaqu: (they agreed), nquṣṣ (we cut), naqli:h (we fry it), qaḓe:t (I spent), listiqla:l (the independence).

Bahraini :

[q] ʃiqqa (flat), niqṣid (we mean), ʔaʕtiqid (I believe), ba:qi (remaining), mustaqill (independent), muqassam (divided).

[g] tgu:lu (you (pl.) say), yigdar (he is able to), tilga:h (you find him), gabl (before).

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1) maḓbu:ṭ is also heard in Lebanon.
2) used only in Lebanon and Syria.
3) ḓuhur in Lebanon.
4) This is used only in Egypt. ḥa:fiZ is also used in Egypt as well as in Lebanon and Syria.

Lebanese and Syrian :

ˀaˀrɑb (nearer) ˀa:bal (he met), biˀu:l (he says/he is saying), ˀa:m (he got up), biˀi:s (he measures/he is measuring), ˀabil (before, ago), biˀɑṭṭiɛ (he cuts/is cutting to pieces).[1]

Egyptian :

niˀaddim (we offer), ʃaˀˀa (flat, apartment), ˀadi:m (old), ˀawi (very), ˀa:ɛid (sitting), ḥaˀi:ˀa (truth).

It may be noticed that the [q] occurs in Egyptian Arabic, first in a limited number of words, even among the illiterate, such as qɑrya (village), ˀilqɑ:hirɑ (Cairo), ˀilquds (Jerusalem), qism-ilbu:li:s (police-station), and secondly when the speaker classicizes or elevates his style. The following words occur in the text :

taqdi:r (estimation), faqɑṭ (only), ˀilqɑ:nu:n (the law), fi-lwɑ:qiɛ (in fact), ˀaqṣɑ:ṭ (instalments), taqɑddum (progress).

1) Although these forms containing [ˀ] may also be used by Palestinians from the same region as the participant (El-Khalil), yet there is only one instance recorded of [ˀ] as an alternant of [q] in the text of the Palestinian, i.e. nˀu:l (we say). This is again due to his classicized style.

III. GRAMMAR
(MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX)

There are no radical differences in the grammar of the educated spoken dialects under discussion. The following features are noteworthy :

Pausal forms and Nunation :

All the speakers use the pausal forms, i.e. all final vowels indicating the case of nouns and adjectives, and the mood of verbs are ommitted. Likewise, nunation is not used except in some adverbials borrowed from classical Arabic such as ʈɑbʕɑn (of course), tɑqri:ban (almost, approximately), fiʕlan (indeed, that is true), ɣa:liban (often), ʔaḥya:nan (occasionally, sometimes), da:ʔiman (always), maθalan (for example), ʔɑyɖɑn (also, as well), jiddan (very).

Roots and Radicals :

Most forms in the colloquials, like classical Arabic, are constructed on a given base of three or more radicals (consonants). This base is called the root. With the addition of various vowel combinations and affixes to this root a variety of related forms is

obtained, e.g. from the root ʕrf words like ʔaʕraf (I know), yiʕraf (he knows), tiʕraf (she knows), ʕa:rif (knowing), maʕru:f (known), maʕrifa (knowledge)... etc. may be formed.

Verbs :

Verbal forms are distinguished by their association with certain systems of affixes on the basis of which two sub-categories of verbs are recognizable, each with certain time-references (tenses) :

a. Perfect: This indicates past time, e.g. ʕa:ʃ (he lived), ka:nat/it (she was), ʔa:lu (they said), Zahar (he/it appeared), ʕimlit (she made), xaraju (they went out).

b. Imperfect : This type of verbs in the colloquials may be further divided into three sub-classes :

1. Simple prefix imperfect, i.e. imperfect without the prefix b/bi or ḥa. This indicates present time, e.g. ʔatkallim (I speak), nibtidi (we begin), tiʕraf (you (m.) know), tru:ḥi (you (f.) go), ṭuṭbuxu (you (pl.) cook), yistawrid (he imports), ta:kul (she eats), yisaʕdu (they help).

2. b/bi prefix imperfect. This indicates present simple or present continuous tense, e.g.

   batkallim (I speak/am speaking), binibtidi (we begin/are beginning), bitiʕraf (you (m.) know/are knowing),

bitru:ḥi (you (f.) go/are going), biṭuṭbuxu (you (pl.) cook/are cooking), biyistawrid (he imports/is importing), bita:kul (she eats/is eating), biysaʕdu (they help/they are helping).

It may be noticed that in the speech of Syrians, Jordanians, Lebanese and Palestinians the prefix ʕam is sometimes used before the simple prefix imperfect or the b/bi prefix imperfect, e.g. ʕam tibni:ha-lḥuku:ma (The Government is building them.). ʕam bitsa:ʕid fi ʔiska:n-illa:jiʔi:n (It helps in accommodating the refugees).

c. ḥa/raḥ prefix imperfect. This indicates future tense. In Egyptian Arabic the prefix ḥa [1] is added to the simple prefix imperfect, e.g. ḥaya:kul (he will eat), ḥatsa:fir (she will leave), ḥayilʕabu (they will play).

In Lebanese, Syrian, Palestinian and Algerian Arabic the prefix raḥ is added to the simple prefix imperfect to indicate the future e.g. raḥ ḍalli[2] ʔiḥki (I shall keep on talking), raḥ yibʔu ho:n (They will stay here.), raḥ yikri-dda:r (He will hire the house.) Sometimes, the participle ra:yiḥ (and its feminine and plural forms ra:yḥa and ra:yḥi:n) are used instead of raḥ, e.g.

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1) The prefix ha is also used in this variety.

2) A sequence of three or more consonants in close transition across word boundaries does not occur in the colloquials. In order to avoid a combination of more than two consonants a short vowel is introduced between the second and third consonants. This transition vowel will be indicated in the transcription by an italic *i*.

ra:yiḥ tibʔa ho:n (You (m.) will stay here.), ra:yḥi:n nsa:fru (We are going to leave.)

Negation of Verbs :

The particles ma (:), ma...ʃ (i) and miʃ are used for the negation of verbs in ESA, but they are distributed as follows :

1. In Egyptian Arabic the particle ma...ʃ is affixed to perfect, simple prefix imperfect and bi prefix imperfect verbs, e.g.

   ma kalʃ*i* kti:r (He didn't eat much.)
   ma yḥibbiʃ yuʔɛud liwaḥdu (He doesn't like to stay by himself.)

   ma btiɛrafʃ*i* ɛarabi (She doesn't know Arabic.)

The particle miʃ[1] is affixed to ḥa prefix imperfect verbs, e.g.

miʃ ḥayzurna-nnihardạ (He is not going to visit us today.)

miʃ ḥatru:ḥ li-ddokto:r (She is not going to the doctor.)

2. In Algerian Arabic, the particles ma...ʃ (i) or ma is used with perfect and imperfect verbs, e.g.

   ḥatta ḥa:je ma ɛajabitni (I didn't like any (of them) at all.)

1) sometimes pronounced muʃ.

ma kanʃi jadi:d (It wasn't new.)

ma niʕraf ʕanha ḥa:je (I (lit. we) don't know anything about it.)

ma niʕrafʃ [1] (We don't know.)

ma biyḥuṭṭu biyu:t jadi:da (They don't construct new houses.)

3. In Jordanian, Bahraini, Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian the particle ma(:) is used with perfect and imperfect verbal forms, e.g.

ma: ẓahar biʃakli wa:ḍiḥ (It didn't appear clearly.)

ma ʔaxaðat-ilmaʃru:ʕ (It didn't undertake the project.)

ma yḥaṣṣalu ʃiɣil [2] (They don't get a job.)

ma bitʕawwad-iṭṭa:lib ʕala-lbaḥθ (It doesn't train the student to do research work.)

ma biyḥibbu ysakkinu ʔaʕzab (They don't like to let their houses to an unmarried (person).)

Adverbs :

Adverbs in ESA may be classified, according to the class of question-words they are correlated with, into :

1) Both ma niʕraf and ma niʕrafʃ occur in the text.

2) In the Bahraini text the particles mu : and me : were also used with adjectives, e.g. mu: ʔijba:ri (not compulsory), me: mawju:de (not present, not available).

a. adverbs of manner :

These correlate with ʔizza:y/ki:f (how), e.g. bisurʕa (quickly), bibuṭʔ (slowly).

b. adverbs of time :

These correlate with ʔimta / ʔimti:n (when), e.g. baʕde:n (afterwards), dilwaʔt(i), halla(ʔ) (now), ʔimba:riḥ (yesterday).

c. adverbs of place :

These correlate with feen / we:n (where), e.g. barra (outside), guwwa / juwwa (inside).

d. adverbs of frequency :

These correlate with ʔaddi ʔe:h / ʔadde:h / ʔadde:ʃ (how much), e.g. dayman / ʕaṭu:l (always), kiti:r/kti:r (much, many), ʔulayyil / ʔali:l (few).

Plural Nouns :

Although plural patterns in the colloquials are based on similar roots and hence easily intelligible among the interlocutors, some difference, especially in broken plural patterns, has been observed. For example, Algerian ḥyu:ṭ (walls) as opposed to Egyptian ḥiṭɑ:n, Bahraini falali:ḥ (farmers) as opposed to Egyptian fallaḥi:n. Notice also the following plurals in Egyptian and their equivalents in Lebanese. Four out of the five broken plural nouns in Egyptian correspond to sound feminine plural nouns in Lebanese :

Singular	Egyptian plural	Lebanese plural
ʃanʈɑ (bag, briefcase)	ʃunɑʈ	ʃanta:t / ʃante:t
suˀa:l (question)	ˀasˀila	suˀala:t / suˀale:t
manʃu:r (leaflet)	manʃu:ra:t	manaʃi:r [1]
mudi:r (director, manager)	mudiri:n	mudara:(ˀ)
warda (rose)	wuru:d	warda:t [2] / warde:t
xe:ʈ (thread)	xuyu:ʈ	xi:ʈɑ:n
zubu:n (customer)	zaba:yin	zubuna:t/zubune:t

Noun-Adjective Concord :

It may be noticed that with plural nouns of personal reference like fallaḥi:n (farmers) and sukka:n (inhabitants) the adjective in most colloquials like Egyptian, Lebanese, Jordanian, Syrian and Palestinian usually agree with the noun in number and gender, thus in Egyptian we may have fallaḥi:n ɛayyani:n (sick farmers) and sukka:n ˀulayyili:n (few inhabitants), but in the Bahraini and the Algerian texts we have examples in which the adjective accompanying the plural form of human reference is in the singular, especially the adjective qɑli:l (few), e.g.

Bahraini : ˀissukka:n qɑli:l (The inhabitants are few.)

Algerian : ˀinna:s-illi ˀaxaðu jawa:ˀiz fi-lˀingli:ziyya ka:nu qɑli:l (Those who got their B.A. in English were few.)

1) This is the plural of munʃɑ:r (a saw) in Egyptian Arabic.

2) warda:t may be used in Egyptian Arabic only in association with a preceding numeral 3 - 10, e.g. xamas warda:t (five roses).

We may notice also Algerian plural sɣa:r (small) in ʈra:f sɣa:r (small pieces) where we use in Egypt the feminine singular, e.g. ḥitat suɣayyara (small pieces).

Conjunctive Particles :

wi / wa / w, fa (and)

These particles are comonly used in the text to initiate a sentence, or to join two (or more) words, phrases or sentences, e.g.

w ha:ða byixtilif min manʈiqa limanʈiqa (And this differs from one region to another.)

laban wi samna wi ruzz (yoghourt, butter and rice)

biyḍi:fu ʔilha laban wi byastaʕmilu kama:n*i* ʃra:k (They add yoghourt to it, and they also use bread.)

fa ka:nat da:ʔiman ʈuʈbuxilna miθl*i* ma: nabɣi (She used to cook whatever we like.)

ʔilʔaja:nib ʂa:ru kθa:r fi-lbalad fa ʔiʈʈarru-nna:s yibnu ʕima:ra:t (The number of foreigners increased in our country, and so the people had to build blocks-of-flats.)

ʔilli/yalli (he who, those who, that which)

This relative pronoun is used to

1. introduce an adjectival clause. The noun preceding ʔilli is always definite, e.g.

   ma:ʕada-ʈʈabaqa:ʈ-illi-rʈabaʈat maʕa-lʔingli:z (except the classes which were associated with the English.)

kulli ha:ða-lli-tkallim ʕannu ma: naʕrif ʕanha ḥa:je (I don't know anything about all that he spoke about.)

2. introduce a nominal clause in subject position. In this position ʔilli/yalli is used without a preceding noun, e.g.

   ʔilli binsammi:h ʔiḥna baṭṭi:x huwwa-lʔabyaḍ
   (What we call baṭṭi:x is that with white (flesh).)

   yalli ma: ʕindu ʕati:ʔ ma: ʕindu jdi:d [1]
   (He who has no old (clothes) has no new ones.)

   ʔilli bixalli ʔazmit-issakan tiʃtadd wuju:d-illajiʔi:n
   (What makes the housing problem more serious is the presence of the refugees.)

3. follow an interrogative particle especially ʔe:h/ ʔe:ʃ and mi:n, e.g.

   ʔe:h-illi ʕagabak min ʔanwa:ʕ-iṭṭabi:x-ilmaṣri
   (What Egyptian dishes did you like most ?)
   mi:n-illi ʔaddam ṭalab ʃuɣul
   (Who applied for a post ?)

ʔinn (that)

This particle is used to introduce a subordinate nominal clause in object position following one of a set of verbs like ʕirif (to know), fihim (to understand), ʔa:l (to say), wagad (to find), e.g.

[1] A Lebanese proverb. The Syrians say ʔilli ma: ʕindu....

tagid-inn-ilʕa:ʔila:t miʃ biyla:ʔu sakan

(lit. You find that families do not find accommodation.)

Sometimes, this particle is ommitted in this type of clause, e.g.

ʔagdar ʔaṣif-iṭṭabi:x maʕaleh

(I can describe the food all the same.)

We may notice also that ʔinn is used in the text without a preceding verbal form, especially with words implying certainty or possibility such as ʔilwa:qiʕ (indeed, in fact), ʔilḥaʔi:ʔa (in fact), fi naẓari (in my view), mumkin (possible), e.g.

ʔilwa:qiʕ-inn-iṭṭabi:x-ilmiṣri biyixtilif ʕan ṭabixna
(In fact, Egyptian cooking differs from ours.)

mumkin-innak ṭiṭlub ʔakl*i* ʕarabi (You can order oriental dishes.)

ʔiða/ʔiza (if)

This particle introduces conditional sentences, e.g.

ʔiða ka:n mi-ṭṭabaqa-lʕa:mla mumkin yuskun ʔayy*i* sakan (If he is a member of the working class he will be satisfied with any lodging.)

ʔiza ṣa:ḥib be:t bana be:t gidi:d yibʕatu:lu lagna
(If a landlord builds a new house, the authorities will send him a (rent) committee.)

(w) la ... wa la (neither ... nor ...)

This co-ordinating conjunction is used by most of the

speakers to join two words/phrases or to form a compound sentence, e.g.

wa la muluxiyya wa la maḥʃi (Neither muluxiyya nor maḥʃi.)

la: hu hɑ:biṭ wa la: hu murtafiʕ
(It's neither low nor high.)

Use of Prepositions :

A large number of prepositions used in the colloquials are identical in form, e.g. fi (in), ʕala/ʕa (on), bi (with, by), li (to, for), ʔila (to), maʕa (with), ʕan (about), be:n (between), min (from). But it is interesting to note that different relations obtain between certain verbs/nouns and some of these prepositions in the different colloquials. This cannot be accounted for on grammatical basis. They can be best regarded as a matter of collocation [1] in the concerned colloquials. For example, in Lebanese and Syrian Arabic certain verbs collocate with the preposition fi, whereas the same verbs collocate with the preposition bi in the same place in Egyptian Arabic. The following attested examples illustrate this point :

Lebanese	Egyptian	Translation
yitʔayyid fi:ha	yitʔayyid bi:ha	(He is bound by it.)
ʔiṭwaṣṣɑ fi:h	ʔiṭwaṣṣɑ bi:h	(Take care of him.)

1) This is defined as the regular tendency of particular lexical items to keep the company of other items. For more details see my book *Aspects of Language - Study*, Beirut Arab University Publications, Beirut, 1973. pp. 62 - 63.

bititɛallaʔ fi:na	bititɛallaʔ bi:na	(It has to do with us.)
yiṭṭiṣil fi:ki	yiṭṭiṣil bi:ki	(He gets in touch with you (f.s.).)

It is noted also that the greeting formula ʔahla(n) w sahla(n) takes fi in Lebanese and bi in Egyptian, as follows :

Lebanese	Egyptian	Translation
ʔahla w sahla fi:k	ʔahlan wa sahlan bi:k	(Welcome !)

However, the exact reverse occurs with certain other forms, e.g.

Lebanese	Egyptian	Translation
ʔilbaʔiyya - bḥaya:tak	ʔilbaʔiyya-f ḥaya:tak	(said as a term of consolation on the death of a dear person.)
ɛama biɛyu:nak	ɛama-f ɛe:nak	(a term of abuse. Lit. May God make you blind.)
miyya bi-lmiyya	miyya fi-lmiyya	(a hundred per cent.)

Again, the Lebanese and Syrian form bifham / fa:him / fahma:n ɛale:k (I understand what you are saying.) is equivalent to Egyptian bafham/fa:him minnak.

In the Bahraini text two instances have been recorded,

i.e. biyahtammu li-lluɣa (they are paying attention to the language), whereas in Egyptian Arabic we would say biyahtammu bi-lluɣa ; and bi maṣr (in Egypt) whereas we would say fi maṣr.

Particles of Affirmation and Negation :

Affirmative response sentences in the text include the following particles :

ˀa:, ˀe:(h), ˀe, ˀey (yes), naʕam, ˀaynaʕam (yes, indeed), maʕlu:m (that is true, of course).

Negative response sentences include :

la:, la, laˀ, la:ˀ (no)

Types of Sentences :

In the light of the preceding remarks a brief description of types of sentences in ESA may be attempted. Some selected examples from the text will be given to illustrate our statements. Sentences in ESA can be divided into simple, compound and complex in accordance with the number, the type of linkage, and the grammatical relationship of clauses which each sentence consists of.

1. Simple Sentences :

A simple sentence consists of one clause. The clause may be non-verbal or verbal, according to the absence or presence of a verb respectively. Non-verbal sentences may be further sub-divided into nominal sentences and particle sentences.

Nominal Sentences :

A nominal sentence consists of a subject in the first position followed by a predicate. The subject may be :

a. a definite noun. A noun is made definite in ESA by :

1. the prefixation of the definite article ʔil/li/l, e.g. ʔilmitzawwij (the married (person)), ʔilmustawa-liqtiṣa:ḍi (the economic standard)
2. its position as a head [1] in a construct, e.g. kala:m mḥammad (what Mohammad says, Mohammad's talk)
3. belonging to the category of proper nouns, e.g. ʔingiltira (England), ʕali (Ali)
4. the addition of a pronominal suffix, e.g. manṭiqati (my region/area)
5. association with a vocative particle, e.g. ya: bint (girl !)

b. an independent pronoun.

c. a demonstrative pronoun.

The predicate may be :

a. an indefinite noun which agrees with the subject in number and gender.

b. a nominal construct. The head of the construct agrees with the subject in number and gender.

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1) In a construction of two or more constituents, the constituent which shares the syntactic functions of the whole construction is the *head*. See Bloomfield, L., *Language*, London, 1965, p. 195.

c. an adjective.

d. a participial form.

e. a prepositional phrase.

Examples :

ˀiṭṭullɑ:bi kθa:r (The number of students is large.)

ˀilmasa:kin miʃ muˀaθθaθa (The houses are not furnished.)

kala·mu ṣɑḥi:ḥ (What he says is true.)

niḥna mwaZZɑfi:n (We are (Government) officials.)

da maʕru:f fi mɑṣr (This is known in Egypt.)

ha:do:l fi-lmudun (These are (living) in towns.)

ha:ði luɣatu (This is his language.)

Particle Sentences :

A particle sentence consists of a preposition combined with a pronominal suffix in initial position followed by an indefinite noun. In other words, the order of the sentence components is Predicate + Subject instead of the usual order Subject + Predicate referred to under 'nominal sentences' above. A 'particle sentence' in ESA is distinguished from a 'prepositional phrase' by the fact that the preposition in the latter is not affixed to the following noun. In addition, the noun in a prepositional phrase may be definite or indefinite, whereas the noun in a particle sentence is always indefinite.

Examples :

Particle sentences :

ʕindna maʕhad muʕallimi:n (We have a Higher Institute for Education.)

fi:(h) maṭa:ʕim ʔajnabiyya (There are foreign restaurants.)

fi:(h) ʔazmit sakan (There is a housing problem.)

Prepositional phrases :

fi-ʃʃiqqa (in the flat)
maʕa-lʕa:ʔila (with the family)
be:n ʔaja:nib (among foreigners)
jamb*i* ʔute:l (next to a hotel)

Verbal Sentences :

The verbal sentence is characterized by the presence of a verbal form usually in the position occupied by the predicate in the nominal sentence. Verbal forms in ESA have been divided into perfect and imperfect verbs. Imperfect verbs have been further sub-divided into simple prefix imperfect, b/bi prefix imperfect and ḥa/raḥ imperfect. These types have been discussed under Verbs above. Examples of verbal sentences are :

ʔinta ʕiʃt*i* xamas sini:n fi maṣr (You lived for five years in Egypt.)

ʔilʔittija:h da tɣayyar baʕd*i* sanat tama:nye wi ʔarbiʕi:n (This trend has changed since 1948.)

ʔiḥna ma bna:kulha fi-lbaḥre:n (We don't eat it in Bahrain.)

ḥanibtidi bi-lˀaxxi mahdi (We are going to start with our friend, Mahdi.)

On the other hand, verbal forms may be classified into transitive and intransitive verbs, according to the respective presence or absence of a noun in post-verbal position. This position is generally reserved for the object in ESA, e.g.

transitive verbs : ˀilḥuku:ma ʕimlit maʃru:ʕ (The Government made a plan.)

ma: yḥaṣṣalu ʃiɣil (They don't get any job.)

intransitive verbs : ˀilʕarab ˀittafaqu ʕale:h (The Arabs agreed on it.)

ha:ði-lmarḥala tastamirri θala:θ sani:n (This stage continues for three years.)

2. **Compound Sentences :**

A compound sentence consists of two or more independent clauses (verbal or non-verbal) linked with one of the following conjunctive particles :

wi/wa/w (and), fa (and), ˀaw (or), bass (only, but), la:kin (but), ˀilla ˀanna (except that, but), ˀinnama (only, but), walla (or), ˀimma ... ˀaw (either ... or), la ... wa la (neither ... nor ...).

These linkers are usually preceded by a pause (symbolized by a vertical line | in the examples below), e.g.

biyidbaḥu dbi:ḥa ka:mla | w byuṭrufu:ha (They slaughter a whole lamb and cut it into pieces.)

ˀilfakha di mustawrada | walla mawgu:da maḥalliyya (Are these kinds of fruit imported or local ?)

fi-lja:mʕa kunt*i* lwaḥdi | la:kin qabl*i* kunt*i* maʕa-lʕa:ˀila (I was by myself at the university, but I was with the family before.)

bitsabbib li-lḥuku:ma ˀazma | bass*i* taxtalif min ṭabaqa-lṭabaqa (This causes a problem to the Government, but it differs from one class to another.)

3. **Complex Sentences :**

A complex sentence consists of one independent clause and one or more dependent clauses. Dependent clauses may be classified into noun clauses, adjectival clauses and adverbial clauses, in accordance with the position in which these clauses appear :

Noun clauses :

Noun clauses may fill :

a. subject position. Clauses occurring in this position are introduced by the conjunctive ˀilli / yalli (he who, those who, that which). Examples have been given under this conjunctive particle above.

b. object position. Noun clauses occupying this position occur after a number of verbs including ʕirif (to know), fihim (to understand), ˀiʕtaqad

(to believe), wagad (to find), ʔa:l (to say). Object clauses are introduced by the conjunctive ʔinn (that). Examples have been given under this conjunctive particle above.

Adjectival clauses :

Adjectival clauses modify a noun (subject or object) in the independent clause. Adjectival clauses are introduced by the conjunctive particle ʔilli/yalli (who, whom, which, that). Examples have been given under this particle above.

Adverbial clauses :

Adverbial clauses, i.e. dependent clauses modifying a verb, may be divided, according to the conjunctives used, into the following sub-types :

a. clauses of time :

These are introduced by one of the following conjunctives :

lamma (when), ʔabl/qabl/gabl*i* ma (before), baʕd*i* ma (after), kull*i* ma (whenever), bimujarrad ma (as soon as), sa:ʕit/waʔt*i* ma (whenever), naha:r/yo:m/ʃahr/sanit ma (the day/month/year that), e.g.

lamma byi:ji yibḥaθ ʔabḥa:θ ʕilmiyya biyiḥta:j ʔila kutub ʔajnabiyya (When he conducts academic researches, he needs foreign references.)

yuru:ḥ-lja:mʕa baʕd*i* ma yku:n ʕumru tisaʕta:ʃar sana (He joins the university when he is nineteen years old.)

bimujarrad-ilwa:ḥid ma yxɑlliṣ ʔiθθa:nawi biyinsa kull-illi tʕallamu (As soon as one leaves the secondary school, one forgets all that he has been taught.)

waʔti ma: baddak baru:ḥ maʕak
(Whenever you want, I'll go with you.)

yo:m ma: bti:ji laho:n binru:ḥi nzu:ro
(The day that you come here, we'll go visit him.)

b. Clauses of cause :

These are introduced by :

liʔann (because), ʕaʃa:n / ʕalaʃa:n / minʃa:n / miʃa:n (for, because), mada:m (since), bima ʔinn/ʔann (because, since), e.g.

ʔiṭṭɑ:lib biyku:n ḍɑʕi:f liʔannu biyku:n ḥɑ:fiẓ-ilma:dda ḥifẓ (The student is weak because he depends only on learning by heart.)

ʔiṭṭɑlɑbɑ biyru:ḥu bɑrrɑ ʕaʃa:n yiʃtiɣlu:n (The students go abroad so that they may find a job.)

byudrus miʃa:n yikammil fi-lja:mʕa (He is studying (hard) so that he may join the university.)

c. Clauses of condition :

These clauses are linked to the independent clause with: ʔiza/ʔiða, ʔin, law (if), e.g.

ʔiða wa:ḥid mistaʔjir biddu yiṭlɑʕ biddu yidfaʕ ʃi: mablaɣ muʕayyan (If an occupant wants to

leave the place he has to pay a certain sum of money.)

d. Clauses of manner :

These are introduced by the conjunctives :

zayy/mitl/miθl ma (as, like), bidu:n ma/ min ɣe:r ma (without), ḥasab ma (according to), ʔaddi ma (as much as), e.g.

ʔiʕmil mitli ma: baddak
(Do as you like.)

ʔilbinti btilʕab min ɣe:r ma tiʕmil dawʃa
(The girl is playing without making a noise.)

e. Clauses of place :

These are introduced by :

maḥalli ma, maka:n ma, maṭraḥ ma (where, wherever, the place where), e.g.

maḥalli ma bta:kul ba:kul
(I'll eat at the place where you eat.)

f. Clauses of contrast :

These are introduced by :

ḥatta law (even though, even if), maʕa ʔann/ʔinn (though, although), wa law ʔann/ʔinn (although), e.g.

ʔṭṭa:lib yuraffaʕ ḥatta law ṣaqaṭ fi-lluɣa
(The student will pass even if he fails in the (English) language.)

IV. LEXIS

Lexis is the domain in which divergencies among the colloquials are most observable. Still, there are striking similarities which help towards intelligibility. Apart from the use of many identical words, these similarities are due to various factors. Two prominent factors will be discussed here :

a. Partial resemblance among lexical items [1] used in the same linguistic and social context. Compare, for example, between Egyptian ʔe:h (what), ʔiḥna (we), ʕaʃa:n (for, because) and Lebanese/Syrian/Palestinian ʔe:ʃ (what), niḥna (we), minʃa:n/miʃa:n (for, because) respectively. The following selected examples of words of everyday usage are illustrative :

Egyptian	Lebanese/Syrian/ Palestinian	Translation
da(h)	ha:da/hayda	(this)
do:l	hado:l/haydo:l	(these)
le:h	le:ʃ	(why)

1) By lexical items we mean individual words, idioms and proverbs. For more details see my article 'Linguistics and the Interpretation of Literature' in *Essays on Language and Literature*, Beirut Arab University Publications, Beirut, 1972, pp. 7-8.

Egyptian	Lebanese/Syrian/ Palestinian	Translation
fe:n	we:n	(where)
hina	ho:n	(here)
ʃe:ˀ	ʃi:/ˀiʃi	(thing, something)
manaxi:r	minxɑ:r	(nose)
biylɑxbɑṭ	bixɑrbɑṭ/bixɑrbiṭ	(he is confusing)
ˀiswira	swa:ra	(bracelet)
zurɑ:r	zirr	(button)

The Palestinian idiom ḥɑ:ṭiṭ diˀru min diˀri (He is (always) teasing me.) is used in the same social context as its Egyptian equivalent hɑ:ṭiṭ niˀru min niˀri where the difference relates to difference in the initial sound of the object noun. Notice also the following Lebanese proverbs which have the same implication as their partially similar Egyptian ones :

1

Leb. bass*i* tu:ˀaʕ-ilbɑˀɑrɑ biyiktar sallaxi:nha (Lit. When the cow falls down, its slaughterers will increase in number.)

Egy. ˀilbɑˀɑrɑ lamma tuˀaʕ tiktar sakakinha (Lit. When the cow falls down, the knives (which are going to slaughter it) will increase.)

2

Leb. ṭubb-iljɑrra ʕa timma bitiṭlɑʕ-ilbint*i* laˀumma (Lit. Turn the earthenware pot upside down, and the daughter will become like her mother.)

Egy. ʔikfi-lʔidra ʕala fummaha tiṭlaʕ-ilbintí lummaha (Lit. Turn the earthenware pot upside down, and the daughter will become like her mother.)

3

Leb. ya ʔa:xid-ilʔirdí ʕa ḥa:lu ra:ḥ-ilma:l wi ḍall-ilʔirdí ʔba:lu (Lit. You who married the ape for his richness, (know that) money went away and the ape remained facing you.)

Egy. ya wa:xid-ilʔirdí ʕala ma:lu yuru:ḥ-ilma:l wi yifḍal-ilʔirdí ʕala ḥa:lu (You who married the ape for his richness, (know that) money goes away and the ape will remain as it is.)

4

Leb. ṣabi:ʕak ma: mitlí baʕḍ/ma: kullí ṣabi:ʕak mitlí baʕḍ [1] (Lit. Your fingers are not equal.)

Egy. ṣawabʕak miʃ zayyí baʕḍaha (Lit. Your fingers are not equal.)

5

Leb. yalli / ʔilli ma: ʕindu ʕati:ʔ ma: ʕindu jdi:d (Lit. He who has no old (clothes) has no new ones.)

Egy. ʔilli ma lu:ʃ ʔadi:m ma lu:ʃ gidi:d (Lit. He who has no old (clothes) has no new ones.)

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1) According to Anis Frayha in Modern Lebanese Proverbs, some Lebanese say ṣabi:ʕak biʔi:dak miʃ kulluhum sawa. For this and the following proverbs, see El-Saati, H., *The Wisdom of Lebanon, a Sociological Analysis of its Proverbs,* Beirut Arab University Publicatlons, 1971, pp. 23 ff.

Leb. ʔibnak wi huwwa zɣi:r rɑbbi:h wi-mta kibir xa:wi:h[2] (Lit. When your son is small treat him like a child and when he grows up treat him like a brother.)

Egy. ʔin kibir-ibnak xawi:h (Lit. When your son grows up treat him like a brother.)

b. Selection from or use of classical items. Arabic dialects select freely variant forms (synonyms) which are borrowed from classical Arabic. Thus, yikri (he hires), ya:sir (much), nquṣṣ (we cut into pieces), da:r/manzil (house), ḥa:nu:t (shop) in Algerian Arabic are synonymous with yiʔaggar (he hires), kiti:r (much), niʔɑṭṭɑɛ (we cut into pieces), be:t (house), and maḥall (shop) respectively in Egyptian Arabic; ze:n (good, excellent) in Bahraini is equivalent to mni:ḥ or ṭɑyyib in Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian; ja:j (chickens) in Jordanian, Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian is equivalent to fira:x in Egyptian; muʔaΘΘaΘa (furnished) and maxzan (shop) in Jordanian are equivalent to mafru:ʃa and maḥall respectively in Egyptian, and so on. Even phrases like yiɛṭi:k-ilɛa:fya (May God grant you vigour and health), mamnu:nɪ kti:r (Thank you very much), ʔiza bitri:d (if you please) and ṣiḥte:n (said to somebody after a meal or a drink; Lit. May God

2) In Frayha wa:xi:h istead of xa:wi:h, ibid., p. 37. Some Lebanese say .... wi lamma yikbar ʔa:xi:h.

give you two healths.) used in Lebanon as terms of compliment and politeness are but other alternatives of the Egyptian phrases rαbbina-yˀawwi:k, mutaʃakkir giddan, min fαḍlαk, and bi-lhana wi-ʃʃifa/ṣiḥḥa-w ɛafya respectively.

In addition, the use of some classical words or some words borrowed from classical Arabic in one colloquial will be understood in another colloquial even though the latter does not use the same words. For example, words like ˀadda:ḥa (cigarette-lighter), sayya:ra (car), ɛuwayna:t (glasses), saɛle (cough), ḍαww (light), yiḥki (he speaks) used by a Lebanese or a Syrian will be understood by an Egyptian who will use walla:ɛa, ɛαrαbiyya, nαḍḍαrα:t, kuḥḥa, nu:r, yitkallim in the same place in the language.

On the other hand, lack of intelligibility on the lexical level may be due to three factors :

a. The use of completely different words and expressions to convey the same meaning. Separated from the linguistic context, these items become a factor of interference. Various instances occur in the text. The Algerian has been interrupted more than once by the Palestinian during the recording to inquire about the meaning of some Algerian words like nṭαyyibu (we cook), ɛa:li bizza:f (very expensive), and simi:d (flour). Misunderstanding also occurred between the Bahraini and the Egyptian as to the

names given in their respective localities to rice, melons and chili as follows :

Bahraini	Egyptian	Translation
ʕe:ʃ	ruzz	(rice)
baṭṭi:x	ʃamma:m	(melon)
bza:r	ʃaṭṭa	chili

The following examples have also been attested from both Lebanese and Egyptian Arabic :

Lebanese	Egyptian	Translation
ṭanjra	ḥalla	(cooking-pan)
barra:d	talla:ga	(refrigerator)
ʃarʃaf	mila:ya	(bedsheet)
kalsa:t	ʃaraba:t	(socks)
kanza	bulo:za	(blouse)
skarbi:na	gazma	(shoes (for ladies))
malfu:f	kurunb	(cabbage)
nja:ṣ	kummitra	(pears)
banado:ra	ʔu:ṭa/ṭama:ṭim	(tomatoes)
naṭu:r	bawwa:b	(door-keeper)
halla/hallaʔ	dilwaʔt(i)	(now, at present)
ʕa bukra	ʔiṣṣubḥ	(in the morning)
yiballiʃ	yibtidi	(he begins)

b. The use of similar words with different meanings. Sometimes, two identical forms are used in two or more Arab countries but with a different meaning in each. The following examples are illustrative :

Word	Dialect	Meaning
maṭraḥ	Algerian	(mattress)
	Egyptian	(place)
laban	Jord., Leb., Syr., Pales.,	yoghourt
	Egyptian	milk
faZi:ʕ	Leb., Jord., Pales.,	wonderful/excellent
	Egyptian	terrible
ḥisba	Jordanian	(market)
	Egyptian	(calculation, a sum (worked out))
ʕe:ʃ	Bahraini	(rice)
	Egyptian	(bread)
baṭṭi:x	Bahraini	(melon)
	Egyptian	(water-melon)
barra:d	Lebanese	(refrigerator)
	Egyptian	(tea-pot, kettle)
dula:b	Lebanese	(tyre)
	Egyptian	(wardrobe, cupboard)
mistʔi:me	Lebanese	pregnant
	Egyptian	(straightforward, an honest (woman))
yikaffi	Lebanese	(he goes on/carries on)
	Egyptian	(that is enough)

c. Difference in loan-words. Every Arabic dialect has been subject to different foreign influences. Thus, layers of foreign borrowings often differ from one Arab country to another. For example, in Egypt.

Persian, Turkish, French and English words have been introduced into the colloquial. Elements like - xa:na (place) and - ba:ʃ (head) borrowed from Turkish are used in compounds like kutubxa:na (public library), daftarxa:na (archives department), ʃafaxa:na (hospital where animals are treated) ; ba:ʃmuhandis (chief engineer/architect), ba:ʃtamargi (chief male nurse), ba:ʃka:tib (chief clerk) and so on. In Lebanon many words borrowed from French are still retained, e.g. ʃufɑ:j (central heating), ʔiʃɑpmɑ:n (exhaust), vitess (gear-lever), kravɑ:t (necktie), novotte: (haberdasher), ʔɑnṭe:n (aerial), ʃɑ:nṣ (opportunity), tre:n (train). For the last four words we use different forms in Egypt : xirdawa:ti, ʔeryal, furṣɑ and ʔɑṭr respectively. Again, the bus is bɑ:ṣ in Jordan and Syria, ʔutubi:s in Egypt, whereas some Lebanese call it bo:ṣṭɑ ; the ticket-collector is kontro:l in Jordan but komsari in Egypt and so on.

In conclusion, the preceding analysis of the phonology, grammar and lexis of ESA proves that there are common linguistic features among Arabic dialects that warrant their mutual intelligibility. We have seen that an educated Egyptian like myself can understand an Algerian, a Lebanese, a Jordanian or a Bahraini. Besides, the random and unplanned choice of speakers from different and mutually remote Arab countries presumably gives us a miniature of the total interdialectal situation among educated Arabs in the whole Arab world.

V. SAMPLES OF THE TEXT

E = Egyptian B = Bahraini A = Algerian
P = Palestinian J = Jordanian

(English or French words/phrases that occur in the text without being given the phonemic pattern of the dialect are written in ordinary spelling.)

I. ʔaṭba:q mufaḍḍala

1

E - ṭayyib nibtidi kida niʕraf ʔasma:ʔ kull*i* wa:ḥid ʕaʃa:n nikallim kull*i* wa:ḥid yaʕni - bʔismu - lʔawwal

2

B - walla:hi ʔana ʔismi mahdi

A - kama:l

P - miḥammad

J - ḥasan

3

E - wa ʔana ʕali ... ṭayyib nibtidi bi-lʔaxx*i* mahdi ... ʔinta ʕiʃt*i* kida ʔarbaʕ xamas sini:n fi maṣr*i* miʃ kida ... ʔe:h-illi ʕagabak min ʔanwa:ʕ-iṭṭabi:x-ilmaṣri yaʕni?

4

B - walla:hi - ilwa:qiʕ - inn - iṭṭabi:x - ilmiṣri biyixtilif kiθi:r ʕan ṭabixna fi - lbaḥre:n ʔilla ʔanna-lmalu: xiyya wi - lʔara:nib wi law ʔanni liʔawwil marra

kunt*i* bakulha bimɑşr liˀann*i* ˀiḥna ma bna:kulha ʕinna fi-lbɑḥre:n ... ka:n fi-lwɑ:qiʕ la:ba:s biha ... yaʕni ki i:r ˀaḥsan ḥatta mi-lfirɑ:x

5

E - tiʕrɑf ţuţbux-ilmulu:xiyya walla kaltaha gahza kida... fi-lbiyu:t yaʕni ?

6

B - la: wɑllɑ ka:nu biyɑţbaxu:ha fi-ʃʃiqqɑ... ˀilxadda:ma ka:nt tuţbuxha fi-ʃʃiqqɑ...ma: baʕrif ˀiða ka:nt hiyya tji:d-iţţɑbi:x ha:ða biðða:t walla ka:nt tji:d ţɑbi:x θa:ni ... ˀilmuhim ˀinnaha hiyya ka:nt bitiʕmil ˀil-malu:xiyya wi-lfirɑ:x kiθi:r

7

E - ţɑyyib da:-kwayyis ... wi ˀe:h - illi ʕagabak ta:ni min ˀanwa:ʕ - iţţɑbi:x - ilmɑşri ɣe:r-ilmulu:xiyya ?

8

B - wɑllɑ-ilmaḥʃi ka:n ze:n

9

E - maḥʃi-rruzz*i* walla-llaḥma-w ruzz ?

10

B - maḥʃi ba:ðinja:n ... biyḥaʃʃu:ha bi-llaḥm-ilmafru:ma wi-lʕe:ʃ... ka:n mumta:z ki i:r

11

E - ţɑyyib-ilˀɑxx*i* kama:l baˀa niʕrɑf ḥa:ga ʕan ˀan-wa:ʕ - ilmaˀku:la:t - illi fi-lgaza:ˀir ... yaʕni hal ʕan-duku ˀanwa:ʕ muxtalifa ʕan-ilˀanwa:ʕ-illi ˀa:l ʕale:ha - ilˀɑxx*i* mahdi ?

12

A - ʔeh ... kull*i* ha:ða - lli tkallim ʕannu - lʔaxx*i* mahdi ma: naʕrif ʕanha ḥa:je minhum ... wa la mulu:xiyya walla - lmeḥʃiyya ... niʕraf badinja:n ... ʔiḥna ʔaydan fi-ljaza:ʔir yaʕni niṭbuxu - lbadinja:n ... yaʕni nquṣṣu ṭra:f sya:r wi naqli:h fi - zze:t wi nṭayyibu maʕa - lḥimṣ ...

13

P - ʃu: yaʕni - nṭayyibu ?

14

A - nuṭbuxu bi-lḥimṣ ... ʔiṭṭiya:b

15

E - ʔilbuhara:t walla ʔe:h huwwa - ṭṭiya:b ?

16

A - ʔiṭṭiya:b huwwa - ʃʃe:ʔ-illi nuṭbuxu ... yaʕni nuqu:l-ʃʃurba ṭiya:b ... ʔittaʕa:m ṭiya:b yaʕni kull*i* ḥa:ja-lli nuṭbuxu:ha naqu:l ʕale:ha ʔism*i* ṭya:b ... wi-ṭṭiya:b - ilmaʃhu:r fi-ljaza:ʔir huwwa - lkiskisi ... yaʕni - lmax-du:m bi - ssimi:d

17

P - ʃu: - ssimi:d ?

18

E - ʕandina ha:za - nno:ʕ min - iṭṭaʕa:m fi maṣr ... ʔil-kuskusi ... biyiʕmilu:h min-iddiʔi:ʔ ...

19

A - ʔa: - ddiʔi:ʔ ... ʔissimi:d ...

20

E - bitsammu:h - issimi:d ?

21

A - ʔissimi:d ʔe... miθl mayqu:lu fi-ljaza:ʔir ṭiḥi:n

22

E - fi maṣr - yʔu:lu - ddiʔi:ʔ wi yḥuṭṭu ʕale:h masalan zibda ʔaw ḥa:ga wi baʕde:n fi: ʔanwa:ʕ min-ikkus-kusi... fi: no:ʕ bi-ssukkar wi fi: no:ʕ bi-ṣṣalṣa...ʔiḥna-nsammi:h ʔilyaxni fi-lqa:hira... ʔiḥna-nḥuṭṭi ʕale:h ṣalṣit ʔu:ṭa wi baṣal-mḥammar wi ḥaga:t zayyi kida...

23

P - ʔilyaxni fi-lʔurdun mastaf... biyitkawwin min ku:sa w-bandu:ra

24

E - ʔeeh hiyya-lbandu:ra

25

P - ʔilbandu:ra ... ṭama:ṭim ... bass ... mi-lʔakla:t-ilmaʃ-hu:ra fi-lʔurdun ṭabʕan mumkini tmayyiz no:ʕe:n. . ʔinno:ʕ-ilʔawwal fi-lʕaza:yim ʔaw-iddaʕwa:t wi ha:ða bitaxtalif min manṭiqa la-manṭiqa fa fi-ḍḍiffa-ʃʃarqiyye biyaklu ʔakle-mʕayyina biysammu:ha-lmansaf wi ha:ði btitkawwan ... tiʕraf-ilmansaf ya mahdi ?

26

B - la: walla ʔawwal marra ʔasmaʕha

27

P - mansaf bititkawwan min laḥim ... tabɛan biyidbaḥu-dbi:ḥa ka:mla w-byutrufu:ha ... biyqaṭṭaɛu:ha ... w baɛde:n biyḍi:fu ɛale:ha laban wi samna wi ruzz ... fi-ḍḍiffa-lɣarbiyya btixtilif ... ʔaʃhar ʔakle mawju:da fi mantiqat na:blis wi ṭu:lkarm wi ra:malla ʔakle biysammu:ha limsaxxan kama:n ha:ði-lʔakle bitit-kawwan biṣu:ra ʔasa:siyye min dja:j biyḥamru:h wi baɛde:n biyḥuṭṭu: fi ze:t ... kimmiyyit ze:t-izzitu:n la:zim tku:n kΘi:re jiddan ... yaɛni mumkin ʔinnak tḥuṭṭ*i* ḥawa:li ΘalaΘ ʔaw ʔarbaɛ ṭirṭa:l ze:t w ṭuṭubux-iddja:j fi ze:t ... baɛde:n biyiɛmilu ʃra:k...

28

A - ʔe:ʃ yaɛni ?

29

P - ʃra:k-ilxubz ... xubz ṣafi:ḥ ... ma:hu xubz*i* biʃʃakl-ilɛa:di-lli bitʃufu: fi-ssu:ʔ ... riɣi:f kibi:r...wi baɛde:n biyḥuṭṭu-ddja:j ɛa-lxubz ʔilli biysammu: ʃra:k ha:ða ... wi byqaddimu: li-ḍḍiyu:f ... fi manṭiqat-ilxali:l ... manṭiqati ʔana-lli kunt*i* sa:kin fi:ha ʔaʃhar ʔakle biysammu:ha-lgidra ʔaw-ilʔidra ...

30

E - da fi-lɛaza:yim walla ... ?

31

P - fi-lɛaza:yim ... ha:ða kullu fi-ddaɛwa:t ... 'It's almost traditional' ... fi-lxali:l kama:n biṣu:ra ʔasa:-siyye-lʔakle btitkawwan min ruzz wi laḥma wi biy-

ḍi:fu ʔilha laban wi byastaʕmilu kama:ni ʃra:k

32

E - ʔanwa:ʕ - ilfakha - lmaʕru:fa fi-lʔurdun ?

33

P - ḥasab-ilmawsim ... fi-ṣṣe:f ʔilbaṭṭi:x wi-ʃʃama:m

34

A - ʔe:ʃ miʕna - ʃʃamma:m ?

35

E - ʔiʃʃamma:m ... matiʕrafʃ - iʃʃamma:m ... da maʕru:f fi maṣr ... miʃ ʕa:rif fi-lbaḥre:n mawgu:d walla laʔ

36

B - walla ʔiḥna nixtilif fi-ttasmiya ʕankum fi miṣr ... ʔilli binsammi:h ʔiḥna baṭṭi:x huwa - lʔabyaḍ ʕindiku ʔintu huwa - lʔaḥmar .... wi baʕde:n ʔiḥna lamma ngu:l ʕe:ʃ niqṣid ruzz ... bass ʔintu lamma tgu:lu ʕe:ʃ tuqṣudu xubz ... fa - lʕe:ʃ yixtilif be:nna w be:nkum

. . . . .

ʔilwa:qiʕ - inna - lʔakala:t - illi kunna bna:kilha fi - lbaḥre:n miΘl - ilbaḥḥa:ri .... mwaddan ... taḥt-ilʕe:ʃ ...ha:ði ʔakala:t ʔaʕtaqid yimkin me: mawju:da ḥatta ʕinkum fi maṣr ʔaw fi-dduwal - ilʕarabiyya

37

E - laʔ masmiʕtiʃ ʕanha

38

B - miΘl hayy taḥt - ilʕe:ʃ ha:ði ... taḥt - ilʕe:ʃ fi:he laḥim ... nxalli-llaḥim taḥt-ilʕe:ʃ ... wi-lʕe:ʃ hina me:

xubuz ... ʔilɛe:ʃ ruzz ɛinna ... fa - rruzz yku:n fo:g wi - llaḥm wi ba:qi - lxuḍrawaat wa ha:ða kulle yru:ḥ taḥit ... fa - ḥna nsammi ha:ða - ṭṭabi:x taḥt - ilɛe:ʃ ... wi ṭabɛan fi: bahara:t kti:ra ... fi: bza:r fi: kurkum fi:h bahara:t ha:ði - lli bti:ji min - ilhind ...

39

J - ʃu: bza:r ?

40

B - no:ɛ mi - lbahara:t ... ʔalbaha:r - ilʔaḥmar ha:ða ... ʔilli huwwa - lfilfil laḥmar - ilmadgu:g ...

41

J - ha:ða binsammi:h ʃaṭṭa ...

42

B - ʔe ... ʔintu bitsammu: ʃaṭṭa ... ʔiḥna binsammi: bza:r

43

E - ʔiḥna - nsammi:h filfil ʔaḥmar ʔaw ʃaṭṭa ... wi lamma kunt*i* fi - lqa:hira kunt*i* ɛa:yiʃ liwaḥdak walla maɛa-lɛa:ʔila barḍu ?

44

B - la: walla fi - lqa:hira ka:n mɛa:ya Θala:Θat ʔixwa:n mi-lbaḥre:n w ka:n ɛindna sitt*i* miṣriyya tiʃtiɣililna... tuṭbuxilna da:ʔiman ṭabi:x maṣri ... bass*i* ʔiḥna ɛal-limna:ha baɛḍ-iṭṭabaxa:t - ilbaḥre:niyya ... fa ka:nat da:ʔiman tuṭbuxilna miΘl*i* ma: nabɣi ...

45

E - la:kin - inta ma - btiɛrafʃ*i* tuṭbux ?

46

B - la: walla ʔana ʃaxṣiyyan ma: baʕrif la:kin ʔagdar ʔaṣif - iṭṭabi:x maʕalch ...

II ʔazmit - issakan

47

E - ṭab nisʔal-ilʔaxxi - mḥammad

48

P - ʔayyi mawḍu:ʕ tiḥibb ?

49

E - mawḍu:ʕ misl ʔazmit-issakan...fi: fi-lʔurdun ʔazmit sakan ?

50

P - fi: fi - lʔurdun ʔazmit sakan wi - btitrakkaz ha:ði fi - lʕa:ṣima ʕamma:n wi - lmudun - lkabi:ra ... wi ṭabʕan fi-lʔurdun ʔilli bixalli ʔazmit-issakan tiʃtadd wuju:d-illa:jiʔi:n ... biʔaʕda:d kaΘi:re ... ha:do:l ma: fi: luhum ʔaṣlan maʔwa...ṭabʕan bitsabbib li-lḥuku:-ma ha:ði ʔazma kabi:ra ... bassi taʕtamid ... xalli:na nʔu:l min ṭabaqa - lṭabaqa ... fa ʔiða ka:n maΘalan muwaẓẓaf biddu yuskun sakan mni:ḥ biyla:ʔi ɣalabe bassi ʔiða ka:n mi-ṭṭabaqa - lʕa:mle mumkin yuskun ʔayyi sakan wi yimʃi - lḥa:l

51

E - yaʕni ma fi:ʃ ʔazmit sakan been - iṭṭabaqa:t - ilʕa:-mila masalan

52

P - laˀ maa fi ... binnisbe li-lmwaẓẓafi:n fi: ˀazmit sakan kabi:ra ... wi-lḥuku:ma ʕimlit maʃru:ʕ miʃa:n - ilˀiska:n ... wi sa:hmit fi:h baʕḍ - ilmunaẓẓama:t - iddawliyye fi - lmudde - lˀaxi:ra ... baʕrafʃ*i* ʃu: ṣa:r ...

53

E - fi-lmudun - lkabi:ra walla fi ...

54

P - fi - lmudun-lkabi:ra ... naʕam ... fi ʕamma:n wi-lquds ... wi ʕimlu masa:kin kti:r mumta:ze ... baʕḍ-iljamʕiyya:t - ittaʕa:wniyye ... fi - lquds*i* maΘalan w fi ˀari.ḥa ... fi ʕamma:n fi: masa:kin namu:ðajiyye

55

J - fi: ˀiʃi kama:n biysa:ʕid ʕala ḥall - ilmuʃkila ḥa:ði ... muʃkilt - issakan fi - lˀurdun ... ˀinnu muxayyama:t - illa:jiˀi:n - illi ʕam tibni:ha - lḥuku:ma ha:ði ʕam bits:aʕid fi ˀiska:n ˀaʕda:d mi-lla:jiˀi:n ... biyẓall*i* qism minhum sɣi:r byiskun fi - lqora wi - lmudun - lˀuxra ... bass*i* binnisba li - ssakan fi: ʃaɣla xa:ṣṣa bi-lˀurdun ... ɣa:liban ˀilmasa:kin ma: bitku:n muˀaΘΘ-aΘe ... liða:lik - illi biddu yuskun biyji:b mʕa:h ˀaΘa:Θu - lxa:ṣṣ*i* wi yiskun ...

56

E - fi - lwa:qiʕ mithayyaˀli - nn*i* muʃkilt - ilʕafʃ*i* miʃ muʃkila ... ˀilmuʃkila hiyya muʃkilt - issakan ˀaṣlan... yaʕni - lˀaΘa:Θ ṭabʕan mawgu:d ma fihʃ*i* ˀazma ... la:kin - issakan ... wi-xṣu:ṣan fi-lqa:hira ... tagid ˀinn - ilʕa ˀila:t wi ʕa:ˀila:t kiti:ra giddan miʃ biyla:ˀu

sakan wi-xṣu:ṣan ʔilli biyiggawwizu gdi:d ma biylaʔu:ʃ sakan muna:sib ... wi binnisba li - lgaza:ʔir ?

57

A - ʔey fi-lʕa.ṣma ma nigdarʃi ngu:l ʔiða ka:nt ʔazmit mana:zil yaʕni hna:k... wa la:kinna-ʃʃe:ʔ-illi niʕrafu huwa ʔanna - ʃʃe:ʔ ɣa:li bizza:f ... yaʕni ʔiΘΘaman ʔllli la:zim ʔissa:kin yiddifʕu hina huwwa ʕa:li bizza:f

58

E - ʕa:li bizza:f ?

59

A - ʔe ʕa:li ... ɣa:li

60

P - ʃu: bizza:f ?

61

A - kaΘi:r ... ʃadi:d ... bizza:f

62

P - faransiyya ?

63

A - la miʃ faransiyya ... la barbariyya wa la ... ʔaṣlaha ma: niʕrafu ...

64

J - ha:ði luɣatu ... ʃu: biddkum ?

65

A - lamma yku:n ʔinsa:n yaʕni yru:ḥ yuskun fi da:r jdi:da yqu:lu ra:ḥ yikri-dda:r

66

E - yikri di kilma ʕarabiyya

67

A - maɛru:fa yaɛni ? yaɛni ʔilkira:ʔ ... ʔilkira:ʔ da:ʔiman ɣa:li bizza:f ... ʔilʔinsa:n yuku:n muɛallim maΘalan... ʔilʔujra - ʃʃahriyya taqri:ban xamsi:n junayh ... la:zim yidfaɛ xamasṭa:ʃar junayh taqri:ban ʃahriyyan ...

68

E - fi ka:m ɣurfa masalan ?

69

A - Θla:Θ ɣuraf maΘalan ... muʃ liʔaΘa:Θ wa la ḥatta ḥa:ja ... ɛa - lḥuyu:ṭ ... judra:n bass

70

E - ma fi:ʃ lagnit taqdi:r ʔigara:t maΘalan ... ɛandina fi-lqa:hira fi: lagna litaqdi:r - ilʔigara:t ... yaɛni ʔiza ṣa:ḥib be:t bana be:t gidi:d yibɛatu:lu lagna wi-llagna di tuɛa:yin - ilmanzil wi-tʃu:f - ilmuwa:ṣafa:t wi baɛ-de:n tiqaddar...liʔann - ʔaṣḥa:b - ilbiyu:t biyya:lu kiti:r ṭabɛan ... ma fi:ʃ - ilḥika:ya di fi-lgaza:ʔir ?

71

A - la...lamma xerju-lfaransawiyyi:n min baɛd*i* listiqla:l xallaw kull-ilbiyu:t bitaɛhum xilawa fa:rɣa wi-lʔa:n kull*i* ha:ði ʔammamatha-lḥuku:ma-ljaza:ʔiriyya ...

72

E - ma fi:ʃ muʃkila yaɛni ?

73

A - la: ma fi:ʃ muʃkila kbi:ra

74

E - binnisba li-lbaḥre:n ... maɛrafʃ-ilmuʃkila di qa:ʔima walla ...

75

B - wɑllɑ-ḥna ma: ɛinda muʃkilat sakan miΘl mahuwa mafhu:m ɛindkum fi-lqɑ:hirɑ... liˀanna muɛẓɑm-ilɛa:ˀila:t biyfɑḍḍlu yiskinu maɛa bɑɛḍ fi be:t kabi:r... ˀilla ˀanna ḥa:liyyan badaˀit-iʃʃiqɑq ṭiṭlɑɛ lisabab wa:ḥid... ˀinn-ilˀajɑ:nib ṣɑ:ru kΘa:r fi-lbalad fɑ yiṭṭɑrru-nna:s yibnu ɛima:rɑ:t wi ywazzɛu:ha ɛala ʃiqɑq fa kulli wa:ḥid yigdar ya:xud ʃiqqɑ... ˀinnama ˀiḥna ma: ɛindna ˀazmit sakan wa xuṣu:ṣɑn-ilˀa:n ˀilḥuku:ma ˀaxaðat maʃru:ɛ ˀismu maʃru:ɛ madi:nat ɛi:sa...wi-lli ˀaxaðat-ilkuntrakt hiya ʃarikat 'Wimpy'... w banat ha:ði-lmadina... fi:ha ḥawa:li ɛaʃrat ˀala:f b:et wi-lḥuku:ma bitsammi ha:ða-lmaʃru:ɛ madi:nat ɛi:sa liðawi-ddaxl-ilmaḥdu:d

76

E - da nafsi maʃru:ɛ madi:nit nɑṣr-illi fi-lqɑ:hirɑ... fi madi:nit nɑṣr bɑrḍu biymalliku ˀɑṣḥɑ:b-iddaxl-ilmuṭɑwɑṣṣit ˀilˀɑrɑ:ḍi ɛala ˀɑqṣɑ:ṭ masalan xamasṭɑ:ʃɑr ˀaw ɛiʃri:n sana

III niẓɑ:m-ittaɛli:m

77

E - ṭɑyyib niɛraf niZɑ:m mɑrɑ:ḥil-ittaɛli:m fi-lˀardun

78

J - niqɑssim-ttaɛlim ɛinna ΘalaΘ mɑrɑ:ḥil... mɑrḥɑle ˀibtida:ˀiyye... yaɛni byidxul ṭṭɑ:lib ˀibni sabɛi sni:n maΘalan... biyxɑlliṣ-ilmɑrḥɑle libtida:ˀiyye baɛdi sitti sni:n yaɛni-yṣi:r ɛumru talattɑ:ʃ sana... baɛd-

ittalattaːʃ biyidxul marḥale Θaːnye... ʔilmarḥale-lʔiʕdaːdiyye wi haːði-lmarḥale bitastamirr Θalaːθ saniːn...wi baʕdaha biyidxul-ilmarḥale ΘΘaːnawiyye ...Θalaːθ saniːn kamaːn wi biykuːn ʕumru tsaʕtaːʃ sane ... fiː naːs minhum biyaltaḥqu bi-ljaːmiʕaːt baʕdeːn wi fiː naːs biyruːḥu ladoːr-ilmuʕallimiːn... ʕinna maʕaːhid muʕallimiːn

79

E - laːkin-ssanawi nafsu munawwaʕ walla ʕaːmm faqaṭ?

80

J - laː fiː Θaːnawi ʕaːm ... fiː Θaːnawi tijaːri ... fiː Θaːnawi ṣinaːʕi ... w fiː Θaːnawi ziraːʕi... munawwaʕ

81

E - haːza nafs inniZaːm bi-lḥarf-ilwaːḥid-ilmuṭabbaq fi maṣr

82

P - ʔittafaqu ʕaleːh fi-ljaːmʕa-lʕarabiyye

83

E - hal mustawa-ttaʕliːm biʃʃakl-ilḥaːli mustawa muqniʕ fi-lbilaːd-ilʕarabiyya... fi-lʔurdun masalan... hal-iṭṭaːlib biyiwṣal ʔila ḥaddi-baʕdi-ilgamʕa yiṣṭaṭiːʕ ʔinnu huwwa yibḥas wi-yfakkar tafkiːr mustaqill kama yagib ʔan yuʔaddi-ttaʕliːm ʔileːh walla mugarrad ʔinnu ʔaxad ʃihaːda ʕaʃaːn yitwaZZaf wi yiṭlaʕ fi-lḥaya h yaxudlu kaːm gineːh wi yaʕiːʃ kabaqiyyat-ilqaṭiːʕ ?

84

P - walla fi ra?yi ha:ða-littija:h ka:n mawju:d qabil ḥawa:li ʕaʃar sanawa:t wi baʕde:n-itɣayyar... baʕdi sanit tma:nye wi ?arbiʕi:n ṣa:r ʕadad kbi:r min-ilmutaxarriji:n biddihum yiʃtiɣlu bi?ayyi wasi:le fa li?asba:b ?iqtiṣa:diyye habaṭ mustawa-ttaʕli:m... baʕdi matḥassan-ilmustawa-liqtiṣa:ḍi mustawa-ttaʕli:m tʕaddal ʃwayye fa ṣa:r fi:h 'balance' la:hu ha:biṭ wa la:hu murtafiʕ ...

85

E - ra?yak ?e:h fi mustawa-zzumala:?-illi ka:nu mʕa:k fi qism-ingili:zi fi-lgaza:?ir ?

86

A - wallahi qawi ʕala kulli ḥa:l ... yaʕni huwwa ʕadad-inna:s-illi ?axðu jawa:?iz fi-l?ingli:ziyya ka:nu qali:l jiddan ... xamsa wa Θla:Θi:n fi-ljaza:?ir kulluha

87

J - ʃu: jawa:?iz ?

88

A - yaʕni diplo:ma:t ... ʃaha:da:t ... 'licences' ... xamsa w Θla:Θi:n wa:ḥid fi-ljaza:?ir faqat ... ?ilmustawa ʕala kulli ḥa:l qawi

89

E - ?intu ʕanduku gamʕa fi-lbaḥre:n ?aZunn ?

90

B - la: ?iḥna ma: ʕinna ja:mʕa ... bassi ʕinna maʕhad ʕa:li li-lmuʕallimi:n... bassi ?iḥna miʃkilitna binnisba li-ṭṭulla:b ?inn-iṭṭulla:bi kΘa:r ... taqri:ban yʃakkilu:n

xums-issukka:n ... yaʕni ʕinna xamsa wa θala:θi:n ʔalfi ṭa:lib min majmu:ʕ-issukka:n-illi huwa miyya w θama:ni:n ʔalf ... wi ha:ði yʃakkil ṭabʕan fi-ssanawa:t-ilqa:dma muʃkile binnisba li-lḥuku:ma wi ʔayḍan-ilḥuku:ma wa:ʕya binnisba li-lmuʃkile bass-iṭṭalaba muʕẓamhum byitxarrajun yibɣu:n yiʃtiɣlu:n fa ma: yḥaṣṣalu ʃiɣil liʔann-illuɣa-lʔingili:ziyya hiya-ssa:ʔide fi-ddawa:ʔir-ilḥuku:miyye wa hiya-ssa:ʔide fi-ʃʃarika:t ... wi-lbirna:maj-illi ydarras fi-lmadrasa-θθa:nawiyya ʔilli huwwa taqri:ban ʔaʕla maʕhad taʕlimi huwa-lbirna:maj-ilmiṣri wi-ṭṭa:lib ḥatta law saqaṭ fi-lluɣa-lʔingli:ziyya wa najaḥ fi baqiyyat-ilmawa:d yuraffaʕ... fi-lluɣa-lʔingili:ziyya ʔinnaja:ḥ mu ʔijba:ri ... ʔilmuʃkile ʔinn-iṭṭalabe ma byihtammu kθi:r li-lluɣa-lʔingili:ziyya ... wi baʕde:n biyitxarraj ʕa:yiz yiʃtiɣil ma: fi: ʃiɣil ... ma:ʕda-lʔaqsa:m-ilʕilmiyya ṭabʕan .. ʔiṭṭa:lib biykun: mutayaqqiẓ wi wa:ʕi li-lluɣa-lʔingi:liziyya fa tilga:h qawi fi-lluɣa ... ʔinnama binnisba li-lqism-iṭṭija:ri wi-lʔadabi fa-lluɣa-lʔingili:ziyya mustawa:ha ḍaʕi:f jiddan wa la:za:l-ittal:ʕli:m-iθθa:nawi kullah ma huwa ʔilla ḥifẓ wi tasji:l ... yaʕni ro:ḥ-ilbaḥθ me: mawju:de

VI. TRANSLATION

(Additions to the Arabic are included in round brackets.)

I. Favourite Dishes

1

E - Let us be acquainted first with the name of each one (of you) so that we may address each one by his first name.

2

B - My name is Mahdi
A - Kamal
P - Mohammad
J - Hassan

3

E - And my name is Ali ... Let us begin with our friend Mahdi ... you have lived for four or five years in Egypt, haven't you ? What Egyptian dishes did you like most ?

4

B - In fact, Egyptian cooking differs to a great extent from our cooking at Bahrain. But [ˀilmulu:xiyya] [1]

1) Notice how the Bahraini has pronounced it [malu:xiyya]

with rabbits was not bad at all, although I ate it for the first time in Egypt, since we do not have this dish at Bahrain ... It was even more delicious than chickens.

5

E - Do you know how to cook [ʔilmulu:xiyya] or have you eaten it ready-made ... at one of the houses, I mean ?

6

B - It was cooked (for us) in our flat ... The maid used to cook it .. I'm not sure whether she was clever at that particular dish or she was clever at other dishes as well... The important thing was that she used to cook [ʔilmulu:xiyya] with chickens several times.

7

E - Fine, what other Egyptian dishes did you like ?

8

B - [ʔilmaḥʃi] [1] was nice.

9

E - Stuffed with rice or with rice and (minced) meat ?

10

B - Aubergines stuffed with minced meat and rice ... It was excellent.

11

E - Kamal, we would like to know something about the kinds of dishes known in Algeria ... Have you got

(1) This may be cabbage, vine-leaves, marrow or aubergines stuffed with rice or rice and minced meat.

dishes different from those mentioned by our friend Mahdi ?

12

A - Yes ... I don't know any of those (dishes) mentioned by our friend Mahdi ... neither [ʔilmulu:xiyya] nor [ʔilmaḥʃi], but I know the aubergines. We also cook aubergines in Algeria. We cut them into slices and fry them in oil and then [nṭayyibu] with split peas.

13

J - What does [ntayyibu] mean ?

14

A - We cook them with split peas ... [ʔiṭṭiya:b]

15

E - Does [ʔiṭṭiya:b] mean spices or what ?

16

A - [ʔiṭṭiya:b] is the thing we cook ... The soup is called [ṭiya:b] ... the food [ṭiya:b) ... Anything we cook is called [ṭiya:b] ... And the well-known dish in Algeria is the [kiskisi] ... which is made with [simi:d]

17

J - What is [simi:d] ?

18

E - We have this kind of food in Egypt ... [ʔilkuskusi] ... It is made with flour.

19

A - Yes, [ʔissimi:d] is flour.

20

E - Do you call it [simi:d] ?

21

A - Yes, it is also called [ţiḥi:n] in Algeria.

22

E - In Egypt they call it [diˀi:ˀ] and they add to it butter ... and then there are (different) kinds of [kuskusi] ... There is one kind with sugar, and there is another with sauce ... We call the latter [ˀilyaxni] in Cairo ... We add to it tomato sauce, fried onions and things of this sort.

23

J - [ˀilyaxni] in Jordan is [mastaf]. It is made with marrow and [bandu:ra]

24

E - What is [bandu:ra] ?

25

J - [ˀilbandu:ra] is tomatoes ... Among the well-known dishes in Jordan you can distinguish two kinds : the first kind is served at invitations, and this differs from one area to another. In the Eastern Bank there is a special dish called [ˀilmansaf], and this is made with ... Are you familiar with [ˀilmansaf], Mahdi ˀ

26

B - No, this is the first time I hear about it.

27

J - [ˀilmansaf] is made with meat ... A whole lamb is prepared and sliced ... then yoghourt, butter and

rice are added to it ... In the Western Bank (the dishes) differ ... The most well-known dish in Nablus, Tulkarm and Ramalla is a dish called [limsaxxan]... This is made basically with chickens fried in oil ... The quantity of olive oil should be big ... You can put about three or four pounds of oil and then cook the chickens in the oil ... Then they prepare [ʃrɑ:k]...

28

A - What does this mean ?

29

J - [ʃrɑ:k] is not the ordinary kind of bread which you are familiar with on the market. It is a big (thin) loaf ... Then they put the chickens on the bread which they call [ʃrɑ:k] and serve them to the guests. In the area of El-Khalil ... the area in which I was living. the most well-known dish is called [ˀilgidra] or [ˀilˀidra]...

30

E - Is this all at invitations or ... ?

31

J - At invitations ... This is all at invitations ... It's almost traditional ... At El-Khalil, as well, this dish is basically formed from rice and meat to which yoghourt is added. They also use [ʃrɑ:k].

32

E - What are the common kinds of fruit in Jordan ?

33

J - According to season ... In summer water-melon and melon (are common).

34

A - What is melon ?

35

E - Don't you know the melon ... It is quite common in Egypt ... I'm not sure whether it is common in Bahrain or not.

36

B - Our nomenclature differs (in this respect) from that in Egypt ... What we call [baṭṭi:x] is that with white (flesh), but in Egypt [baṭṭi:x] is that with red (flesh) ...Besides, when we say [ʕe:ʃ] we mean rice...whereas when you say [ʕe:ʃ] you mean bread ... [ʕe:ʃ] is then different between us and you.

. . . . . .

In fact, the dishes which we used to eat in Bahrain such as [ʔilbaḥḥa:ri], [mwaddan], [taḥt-ilʕe:ʃ] ... are presumably unknown even to you in Egypt or in the (other) Arab countries.

37

E - I haven't heard about them.

38

B - Take, for example, [taḥt-ilʕe:ʃ] [1]. It contains meat ...We put the meat under the rice ... [ʔilʕe:ʃ] here

1) Literal translation : 'Under the rice'.

is not bread ... [ʔilɛe:ʃ] is rice in our country. The rice is at the top, and the meat, the vegetables and all that remain at the bottom ... We call this dish [taḥt-ilɛe:ʃ] ... Of course it contains much spices ... There are [bza:r], [kurkum] and all these spices that are imported from India.

39

J - What is [bza:r] ?

40

B - It's a kind of spices ... the red spice which is ground (dried) red pepper.

41

J - We call this chili.

42

B - What you call chili we call [bza:r].

43

E - We call it red pepper or chili ... When you were in Cairo were you living by yourself or with the family ?

44

B - In Cairo I was (living) with three colleagues from Bahrain, and we had an Egyptian maid ... She used to cook for us ... Egyptian dishes all the time, but we taught her how to cook some Bahraini dishes ... So, she used to cook for us what we liked.

45

E - But you don't know how to cook, do you ?

46

B - No, I myself don't know, but I can describe the food all the same.

II. Housing Problem

47

E - Let us ask our friend Mohammad.

48

P - Which subject do you like (to talk about) ?

49

E - A topic like housing problem ... Is there a housing problem in Jordan ?

50

P - There is a housing problem in Jordan. This (problem) is concentrated in the capital, Amman, and the big cities ... What intensifies this housing problem is the presence of the refugees in large numbers ... These have originally no shelter ... and this, of course, causes a big problem to the Government ... But it differs, say, from one class to another ... If, for example, a (government) official wants to look for a convenient accommodation, he won't find it easily, but a member of the working class may be satisfied with any sort of accommodation and everything will be fine.

51

E - This means that there is no housing problem for, say, the working classes.

52

P - No, there is none ... As regards the (government) officials there is a big housing problem, and the Government was carrying out an accommodation project in which some international organizations have lately contributed ... But I don't know what has happened since then.

53

E - In the big cities or ... ?

54

P - Yes ... in Amman and Jerusalem ... (The Government) constructed excellent houses ... Some co-operative societies, for example, in Jerusalem and Ariha (did the same) ... In Amman there are (also) exemplary buildings.

55

J - There is one more thing which helps to solve this problem, that is, the housing problem in Jordan ... The refugee camps which the Government is building help in accommodating a good number of refugees ... The small part which remains lives in villages and the other towns ... But there is a noticeable characteristic as regards accommodation in Jordan... Lodgings are in most cases unfurnished... therefore he who wants to rent a lodging has to provide his own furniture.

56

E - I think that the problem of furniture is no problem (at all) ... The problem is basically that of accommo-

dation ... The furniture is of course available ... But the accommodation is not ... We are suffering from (this problem) in Egypt, especially in Cairo where a large number of families do not find accommodation, particularly those who are newly married. They do not find a convenient lodging ... What about Algeria ?

57

A - We cannot say that there is a problem in the capital ... But what I am sure of is that (the rent of) lodgings is very expensive.

58

E - (Are you saying) [ʕa:li bizza:f] ?

59

A - Yes, [ʕa:li] means expensive.

60

P - What about [bizza:f] ?

61

A - much, very.

62

P - Is it French ?

63

A - No, it isn't ... Nor is it of Berber origin ... I don't know its origin.

64

J - This is how his language is ... What has this to do with you ?

65

A - When a person goes to rent a new house we say he is going to [yikri] the house.

66

E - (But) [yikri] is an Arabic word.

67

A - It's a familiar word, then ... It means 'rent' ... The rent is always very expensive ... A person who works as, say, a teacher ... gets about 50 pounds as a monthly salary ... He has to pay about 15 pounds (for rent) per month.

68

E - For how many rooms, for instance ?

69

A - For a three-room (flat), for example ... not including any furniture ... mere walls.

70

E - Isn't there any 'Estimate Committee'? We have in Cairo a Committee for the estimation of rents ... If a landlord builds a new house the (authorities) send a committee which will inspect the house and examine the specifications, and then estimate (the rent accordingly) ... for the landlords usually raise (the rents) unduely ... You haven't the same thing in Algeria, have you ?

71

A - No, ... When the French went out (of Algeria) after independence they evacuated all their houses, and then the Government nationalized all of them.

72

E - There's no problem, then ?

73

A - No, there's no big problem.

74

E - As regards Bahrain ... I don't know whether this problem exists or (not) ...

75

B - We haven't an accommodation problem in the same sense as what you have in Cairo, because most families prefer to live with each other in a big house ... But at present the setting up of flats has just started for one reason, that is, the number of foreigners has increased in our country. The people have to build up blocks-of-flats and divide them into (separate) lodgings so that each one may rent a flat. Still, we have no housing problem now that the Government has undertaken a project called 'The City of Issa'... and contracted with 'Wimpy Company' for the building of this city ... There are about ten thousand houses (in this city), and the Government called this project 'The City of Issa for those with limited income'.

76

E - This is the same project as that of 'The City of Nasr' in Cairo. In this city those with limited[1] income may also own a site for building on a hire purchase basis for, say, fifteen or twenty years.

III. System of Education

77

E - Let us know (something about) the system of the stages of education in Jordan.

78

J - Education in our country is divided into three stages ... a primary stage ... The student joins the school when he is seven years old. He finishes the primary stage after six years, that is, when he is thirteen years old ... After this he starts another stage ... the preparatory stage ... This continues for three years... Afterwards he begins the secondary stage ... This (takes) three years more ... The student becomes nineteen years old...Some students attend the universities, and some others join teachers training institutes (in Jordan).

79

E - But is the secondary education varied or only general ?

1) Lit. moderate in the text.

J - There are general, commercial, technical and agricultural secondary (schools) .... It is varied.

81

E - This is literally the same system adopted in Egypt.

82

P - It has been agreed upon in the Arab League.

83

E - Is the standard of education in its present form in the Arab countries a convincing one ? Take Jordan, for example. Does the university graduate reach a standard which enables him to conduct researches and think independently, as (proper) education should lead to ; or is it his sole aim to get a certificate so that he may find a job, start a life-career and charge a few pounds, and then live like the rest of the herd ?

84

P - In my opinion, this trend was common ten years ago ... Afterwards it changed ... (Immediately) after 1948 there were a great number of (university) students who wanted to get a job by any means ... Thus, for economic reasons the standard of education became lower ... But after the economic standard had improved the standard of education rose a little, so it was balanced : neither low nor high ...

85

E - What do you think of the standard of your colleagues who were with you in the Department of English in Algeria ?

86

A - Not bad at all ... Only a few persons got their B.A. in English in Algeria (at my time) ... thirty five students in the whole of Algeria.

87

J - What does [jawa:ʔiz] mean ?

88

A - Diplomas ... certificates ... 'licences' ... only thirty five students in Algeria ... (But) the standard is high anyhow.

89

E - I presume you have a university at Bahrain ?

90

B - No, we have no university ... but we have a Higher Teachers Training Institute. Our problem with regard to the students is that they constitute a large number ... They constitute approximately one - fifth of the population, that is, we have 35,000 students out of the total number of population which amounts to 180,000 ... This, of course, will cause in the next (few) years a problem for the Government which is well aware of it ... But (the point is that) most of the graduates want to find a job, but they don't get

any, for the English language is the language used in the Government departments as well as in the companies ... whereas the programme taught at the secondary school — which is considered the highest educational institute — is the Egyptian programme. (According to this programme) if the student fails in English and succeeds in the rest of the subjects, he will pass.[1] Success in the English language is not compulsory...The problem is that the students do not care much about English...Then when they graduate they want to get jobs, but they find none...The scientific sections are an exception, of course...The student (in these sections) is alert and attentive to (the study of) English, so you find him good at this language... As for the commercial and literary sections the standard of English is very weak, and the whole secondary education is still nothing but memorizing and recording (of knowledge) ... that is, the spirit of research is lacking.

1) This regulation has been lately modified in Egypt and the rest of the Arab countries.

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